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# Walter Shapira, transcript only

Walter Shapira

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LB Would you mind telling me your name now, for this tape?

WS No.

LB All right. Give me your name.

WS *W*alter Schapera.

LB And where you were born. *the name of the town.*

WS I was born in Gura (?)

LB You had better spell that. Is that a mountain, Guru?

WS No, no. It's not a mountain. G-u-r-a - H-u-m-o-r-u-l-u-i in the county of Canpolung and on the twenty ninth of March, 1924.

LB Now is this a big city or a little city?

WS No, it is a small city. A small city which, at the time I was born, was inhabited by about 6,000 people. They were 2,000 Germans, most Catholics; 2,000 Jews and 2,000 Rumanians. And there were no conflict whatsoever between them. Because all of them, descended...not descended...how to say it...were formerly under Austrian rule, Austrian Hungarian rule.

LB You were in Bukhovina.

WS It was in the Bukhovina, yes.

LB Now, in the part of Bukhovina...because according to the map, part of Bukhovina was part of the old Kingdom.

WS In the south. In the south Bukhovina, yes.

LB Was <sup>that</sup> part of the old Kingdom?

WS No. Was never part of the old Kingdom.

LB No.

WS The whole Bukhovina was part of the old Kingdom, sometime about in 1739, '40, I don't know exactly. And after this the whole Bukhovina was under Austrian Hungarian rule. But it was a different rule here. For instance, in comparison to Transylvania, which belonged more to the Hungarian Kingdom. Although the Austrian Emperor was

king of Hungaria, Hungary. But the Bukhovina belonged...was a <sup>province</sup> of the Austrian Hungarian monarchy. And the official language was German and all there you can see old Rumanian peasants speaking...no, they are dead most of them, but...I remember a lot of them speaking very good German. <sup>It was</sup> Very nice.

LB Now you said your tongue, your mother tongue was German.

WS Was German, yes.

LB Your parents spoke German?

WS My parents grew up and studied and lived and studied in the Austrian Hungarian monarchy. Only in German. <sup>when</sup> Today I get letters from my father, from my <sup>from</sup> uncles and/my whole family, it is only in German.

LB And so you grew up with German.

WS And I grew up in German. That means till I was six and a half <sup>years</sup> and I started to learn, to go in school, then school began at seven years, not like today at five or four, I knew only German. I didn't know any...I didn't know Rumanian. Coming to school evidently, all my school years and there were a lot of them, were in Rumanian. I learned and I spoke only Rumanian.

LB In school.

WS In school. But, I was...my mother...my late mother...she wanted me to learn German. And in parallel, <sup>with the</sup> school, I learned a lot of years with private teachers, German. To speak correctly, to write especially... *this was her...*

LB You learned German privately.

WS Privately. In school I learned only two years German.

LB Were your parents born in Bukhovina?

WS My parents were born in Bukhovina, yes.

LB What about your grandparents, do you know anything about them?

WS My grandfather...my mother's parents, her father died as a young man. My mother was five years. And she was the eldest of three children and she doesn't even remember. I didn't know him. My grandmother was with us the whole time, approximately, and she died in 1957, at the age of 80.. She was with us in the camp and came

back and in 1957, she was an old woman and she died.

LB Were you an Orthodox Jewish home?

WS No.

LB You were not. What sort...Were you Jews?

WS I beg your pardon.

LB Were you Jews? Did you consider yourselves Jews?

WS Evidently. (Laughs)

LB Not what other people considered you, did you consider...

WS No, no, no. We considered ourselves all the time as Jews without being very, very religious. It means, it is interesting, in my mother's family, there are some very, very religious people. For instance, my uncle, who is now in Israel, is a very religious man. And very religious, but religious in his way. He knows a lot about Talmud, about all the things you need, no? He goes to the shiel, to the Bait Haknesset, yes, <sup>I suppose</sup> <sup>ate,</sup> every day and he is very, very traditional in all the things, but he/ for instance, without a kipah. And he goes without a kipah. And he says this has nothing to do with...

LB Does he keep kashrut?

WS <sup>Here, evidently</sup> yes. He is not married. He is an old man today. And he ate at my... at his sister. She's a widow. Her husband died a couple of years ago...six, seven, years...more, ten years ago, or so. And she keeps, for him, kasher and all the...My grandmother, on my mother's side...that means my mother's mother, was very, very...she was very religious. Yes, she was. We have, even, in the town where I was born, a shiel, uh, bait knesset done by our family and called the Sheibrisher Shiel. Now the, Sheiber is the name of my mother's...

LB Is that right? It was named then for her family.

WS Yes, it was named and known and whom you will meet here in New York, I have a lot of friends. All of them told me, Where is your father living now? And I told them, He is not living...We had a house where we had some...my father had a mill and a fabrique, I don't know in English...

LB Business? Property?

WS Property, yes, not only business...investment, yes, and we were living there. And now they asked me, Where are you living? And I told them...Where is your father living? Not there. It was a point, a very well known point in the town. They went till Schapera's. Because it's very known, the place, today. And they didn't know he's living in my grandmother's house which is the next house from the Sheiberisher Sheil. Sheiberisher, not Schapera. Sheiber is my mother's name from ...that was done, I don't know exactly by my grandfather, by his father. ~~The~~ whole family which was living there for, I don't know,...they knew...my uncle knows...his grand-grand father all were living in this area. There are roots, very deep roots, you know. And my father's father and mother, which I knew maybe better than...they were also religious but not so...but not this way...very, I don't know, more modern and so. I lived with them. I lived in their home for two years when I went to school between '38 and '40. They were living in Czernowitz. And between '38 and '40 when I had no school in my small town, I lived with my grandparents.

LB Your father didn't wear a beard then, or anything of that nature?

WS Hmm?

LB A beard.

WS No, no, no.

LB Did any of your grandfathers?

WS No. *Yes* ... my mother's father as he appears in pictures, had a beard.

LB But did you have any Jews in this area approximating, after all, you <sup>were</sup> near Galicia, did you have anything like the Hasidim here?

WS No. (Laughs) *I don't know.*

LB You don't know. You were too late already.

WS No, I was not interested in...

LB But you would have known. It doesn't matter if you were interested or not. If they were there you would have known.

WS My father...

LB What did your father do for a living?

WS What do you mean?

LB How did he make his livelihood? How did he earn his livelihood?

WS He was like me. He was very hard working and me too.

LB Was he an engineer too? Was he an engineer?

WS No. He was ...how to say...graduated Handelsson"s (?) Export Akademie. That was a business school. Because my grandfather, they were all rich people generally, and they had some industries and so. And my father's destiny, he was the eldest of four sons. And he was destined to take the business of my...grandfather's business. To go in the business.

LB What business was that?

WS We had a lumber...you know, when trees they're coming trees, very<sup>big</sup>/heavy trees are going in some machines and they come out...(knocks on table) how do they call it?

LB Boards.

WS Boards. Yes.

LB A lumber yard.

WS A lumber yard, one. And then we had a big, a big mill...for...flavor...grain is going in and is coming out, flavor, yes?

LB Cereal? No. Flour!

WS Flour. Flour. And coming out flour. And we had a thing like this, it was a big investment. And my grandfather, he had, before the war, before the first World War, he had big, big lumber business. All of that kind. In Rumania and in Austria and in all kinds...he was a big businessman, my grandfather. And I, when I was born, I knew that...my father was then the manager, let us say, of that enterprise, <sup>in Rumania</sup> which was very big for that...We had for instance, about, if I remember, about one hundred workers in there. And that was for that time a big industry.

LB Now, I want to ask you...if you...you originally, this part of Rumania was originally under Austria Hungary. Now, then your family, <sup>and</sup> you say you had deep roots there, family roots...now when the territory was given back to Rumania, after the first World War, you weren't born yet.

WS No.

LB But you must have heard your parents talk. You got a feeling in the family.

Did they consider themselves Rumanians...

WS No. They never considered themselves Rumanians. During the war, they were...my mother, for instance, who was born in that small town. <sup>My father</sup> was born not far away but not in that town. My mother, during...when...I don't know the second or third... the second year of the war, the Russians came here in and they fled to Czechoslovakia. To Brno. Mother was in Brno for three years, <sup>with my grand</sup> mother and all the three children, they were small children then. My grandfather not born yet. No - <sup>H2</sup> died. Died. And they fled to Austria <sup>to</sup> Hungary...My father was in Vienna with his parents. He was, the first two years, they had some big business here, near *Brasov* in Rumania and he told me, he ever recalled this story, that he left Rumania with the last train, the last train, yes. It means, Rumania declared war to the Central Powers in 1916. Rumania was two years neutral. And they had here some big business in Rumania. And they were told that it will come probably to that. And they were told to leave Rumania because all were Austrian citizens. All Austrian citizens... *were in danger...*

LB Even here they were Austrian citizens, in *Brasov* ?

WS Not in *Brasov* . They were in Rumania, here. Here are the Carpathian mountains. And they were here, near the border. Near the border, not far, but in Rumania.

LB So your father was a Rumanian citizen?

WS No! No! He was an Austrian citizen. But he had business in *Rumania*.

LB Oh, I see. Oh. O.K. O.K.

WS This is not like today. <sup>He had business all over.</sup> And he had some business here, in Rumania. And they were told, being Austrian citizens, to go away because they will be, they run the danger to be caught and to be put in a camp. And they went away with the last train. I remember he told me this. And my grandfather, who <sup>to</sup> had to take a lot of money from somebody in Bucharest, went <sup>to</sup> Bucharest, was put in a camp and

I don't know how many months he was sitting in this camp as an Austrian citizen under Rumanian rule. Rumania was at war with Austria. At that time. And after the war, my grandparents and my father were in Vienna...I don't know exactly how my grandfather escaped from that business...oh yes, I know, he told me, not once. The Germans came and they were taken with the Rumanian troops which were retiring all the time, here a line, here was a big battle, and they were taken with them and in some place, my grandfather with another Jew who was in the same situation, didn't go. He simply went away. He ran away.

Then the Germans came and he was an Austrian citizen and there was no problem. And he went back to Vienna, to his business and my...I have two uncles, of mine... two brothers...my father's brothers *were in the Austrian army*. One was, his son is in New York, was a student of medicine. And he was with the Austrian <sup>deep</sup> in Russia, with the Austrian army, in Ekaterinoslav...what it is now, I don't know...Dnieperpetrovsk, yes. And he always told me the story. One was a young guy and he volunteered. I don't know where he was, seven years he volunteered for the Austrian army, <sup>to fight (laughter)</sup> both of them aren't living....and *my father was not as far as I know in the army*. He was a student in Vienna. And *my* mother's other brother was a young boy then. He didn't...

LB So both your parents were not Rumanians in any feeling sense at all.

WS No. In no feeling sense. <sup>L.B.</sup> /It's an accident of geography that they turned out to be Rumanian.

WS No there were thousands and thousands of people who were living here and who didn't want to leave.

LB So *the same* accident hit all of them. Right?

WS Yes. What would they have done? To go to Austria? To go to Vienna? How can...  
The whole monarchy became nothing. They lived in Vienna, <sup>They</sup> /came back to Rumania  
I don't remember exactly...as far as know, two or three years after the war.

LB They went to Vienna?

WS They were in Vienna. My uncle that I told you, even medicine he started there and they went to Vienna during the war. I told you. When they have here the



business, they were living...I don't know exactly where they were living then. I was not born. I don't remember. I know after that, in 1916, they went to Vienna. And they, they had a lot of money, my grandparents. Very rich people.

LB Because people were starving in Vienna.

WS No. no. They had a very good living and they were...they lived in Vienna two or three years after the War. Then they decided to come back. That was there, here. They had that big factory in Gura Humorului. It was their factory. And they decided to come back to run the business. That one. Why exactly did they decide to come back, I don't remember the story.

LB Tell me, How...You remember growing up in this town, and in Rumania there was no such thing as a shtetel.

WS What does that mean?

LB Oh, you don't know what a shtetel is.

WS I know. I know. But what do you understand...?

LB A town which is all Jews, separated...

WS NO. NO.

(Tape momentarily turned off)

LB Now let me see, where were we? Oh yes, we were talking about the feeling that your parents never really felt Rumanian. And were German or Austrian. What were they? What did they feel?

WS Austrian.

LB They felt Austrian? All right, now how did you, growing up in this town with two thousand Jews, two thousand Germans and two thousand Rumanians, how did these three ethnic groups get together?

WS Very well. Very well. Very well. It was...There had never been problems. Neither ~~problems~~ problems or problems of any kind. Because all of them, the former generation, I was born in 1924, the former generation <sup>was the generation</sup> who went together to school. That means the best friends of my late mother were German girls with whom she went together to school. And that was transmitted. For instance, I remember I had some <sup>two</sup> classmates, they were the sons of a lady, a German lady, who was with my mother in the same class of their time. A generation before. Former generation,

you know. So we were in very good relations. My mother is with that lady in very good relations. There were no problems.

LB Now, but did you have Jewish friends too? Were you restricted...

WS Yes, my only friends...I was not restricted in any way. We had very free rules, we did a lot of sport. We learned a lot. My only friend was a Jew man who is now in Germany. He is a doctor and we learned together. We studied together. We studied together, <sup>different...</sup> His father was a lawyer in the same town. And we were very very good friends. He was my only friend and I his only friend. Although we are very, very different from a lot of...maybe that's why we are so good friends. That's also possible. We are completely different.

LB You mean from the other Jews?

WS No, no, no. We both, how can we be different from the other Jews? (Laughs)  
Other Jews are all alike. Is that not so?

LB No.

WS In our town they were almost all the same. (Laugh) Some were more religious and others less religious. Not big differences. I don't know what you are looking for, but in our town... there were no...

LB I don't know. You have to tell me. I don't know any German or Austrian...I mean, I have met many Austrian, Austro Hungarian Jews.

WS Yes, and what did they say?

LB But many of them were Galicians. So that makes them different ~~to~~ start with.

WS Yes. The Galician Jews were probably different. There was much Russian influence.

LB No! No! They looked to Germany. No! They did not. They were not Russian at all. They were Galicians!

WS Galicia was also Russian. Galicia was a time Russia, then Austria...

LB The time that I am interested in, they were Austria Hungary. All right, so you grew up with these children. Did you know any Rumanian children? Did you play with any Rumanian children?

WS Literally, I had a lot of friends, neighbors, Rumanian, German and all kinds. Most of them were Jews. We had in the high school...how do you call it...

LB Gymnazium.

WS In gymnazium, yes. *Because they don't have gymnazium in the small towns.* We were, yes, we were some Jews. It was a mixed gymnazium, girls and...

LB In your town?

WS In my town, yes.

LB There was a gymnazium?

WS There was a gymnazium.

LB And you went?

WS And I went.

LB And that was conducted in the Rumanian language.

WS Only in Rumanian. We were Jews and Germans and Rumanians. And I had friends, Germans not very many. I remember from forty, <sup>there</sup> were probably <sup>six</sup> seven were Germans, ten or twelve were Jews and the rest were Rumanian.

LB In gymnazium?

WS In gymnazium. In my class. There were about forty.

LB Now, the little reading I was able to do on Rumania, the overwhelming majority of the population were peasants. Is that correct?

WS Yes, but not in this area.

LB Not where you...

WS Not in that area. That area <sup>was not</sup> for peasants. It was the mountain area, you know. Bukhovina is...that part of Bukhovina is, almost the whole of Bukhovina is on hills and mountains. And they were not peasants in the way they were here in the Old Kingdom.

LB They didn't have the small strip farms and so on. What did they have the middle sized farms?

WS No, they had no farms at all. They had small strips of land for their own use, but generally they worked, there were a lot of forests and they worked in the timber yards and they did a lot of wood and went to the, how do they call it, the Old Kingdom, the former Old Kingdom. Yes. They went there to *Falticeni*, for *insurance... Botoani*, sold their wood, for good prices and came back with cereals. Because here were...

they were not peasants in the way. They were all workers, generally. /Including

the Rumanians?

WS Including - mostly the Rumanians. The Jews were generally businessmen.

LB And the Rumanians were the timber people?

WS They were the timber people.

LB And what did the Germans do?

WS The Germans, as far as I remember, most of them were some, or they were professionals, it means, artificers, how do you call it?

LB Artisans.

WS Not artisans. Craftsmen.

LB <sup>Craftsmen</sup> Like what kind?

WS Like, a man who makes - a carpenter, a mason, all craftsmen. A lot of them, some of them were also former clerks from the former Austro Hungarian administration. They were all taken ... the Rumanian bureaucracy developed itself, even more than the... that is what they were. Craftsmen, artisans or clerks. Not a lot of them. Some of them were also teachers.

LB Who were your teachers in the elementary school?

WS In the elementary school was a very nice guy, a very nice sentimental guy. A Rumanian. Big Rumanian nationalist. There were a lot of Rumanians who had a lot of trouble. They were originally from that town. They fled from the Austro Hungarian monarchy and they came back with the Rumanian troops after the war. Because they were Rumanian nationalists and they had troubles, in the Austro Hungarian monarchy. All of them were very nice. Most of them were nice people. My teacher was a Rumanian in the elementary school and my teachers in the gymnasium were most of them were Rumanian, <sup>only</sup> one Jew was also professor; he was for French and gymnastics.

LB Was there any, like a numerus clausus such as they had in Russia?

WS No. No. In that time it was not. In my town especially not. I don't know, maybe <sup>I suppose it was not in that time</sup> in other towns it was. In my town it was not because it was, as they call, State gymnasium but extra budgetar. Do you know what that means?

LB No.

WS It was not in the budget of the state. It had to, it was kept going by the taxes paid by the parents.

LB Well, were they taxes or was it a private school, essentially?

WS It was not a private school. It was a state school. But it means that it had all the rights and duties ~~of~~ a state school. All the teachers were appointed by the state and so nothing...but, they said, I don't know if the whole budget or a part of the budget had to come from the parents. Because the town was too small for such a big school. Under Austro Hungaria it was a complex school. It was a gymnasium and a high school. And then, I don't know, probably the town was too small and they said...we had thirty kilometers to the north and thirty to the south, <sup>there were</sup> big towns <sup>with</sup> big schools. And they said the children may go to the gymnasium, so the elementary school is enough. And so we had to pay taxes. Fees.

LB Fees not taxes. A tax would go to the state.

(Tape ends)

Side 2

LB Now tell me something. You started School in about 1931?

WS 1930. Uh...1930, I started school.

LB Do you remember what was going on at all in Rumania at that time? Politically?

WS (Laughs) No.

LB It was fairly comfortable. As far as you were concerned, nothing was going on.

WS I started when I was six years old, so I can't remember very well. I remember generally, I was very interested in politics from the age of fourteen, fifteen. I was, I started to be very interested in politics. But. What I know is that ...

LB That's already 1940, isn't it?

WS I started to be very interested. It means that when I started to understand, from 1938.

LB The year before the war started.

WS Yes. Then I was very, very interested. What can I say? <sup>Rumania was generally democratic</sup> Rumania, it was a democracy. In 1930 till 1938, '37 or so when the King Carol did his miserable royal dictatorship. But as I remember, there were always, sometimes, elections. I remember I asked my father for whom he voted and he didn't want to tell me. And he was

right not to tell me. Because after that he explained me, the children were generally don't...he didn't want it...people know, this one, he voted ~~for~~ him, for instance. But there were elections. It was more or less democratic until, now I remember, in '38 if I'm not mistaken, Carol put the government

*Cuza* and that was, *Cuza* was well known as anti-Semite and he came to government and the Jews...it was a flourishing economic situation then, before he came, in Rumania. And at once, I know in Bukhovina, my father too and all of them. I don't know if it was concerted or they did it because they feared, I don't know what it was, but all the fabriques all the...

LB Factories.

WS Factories were closed. You know, they closed. I remember my father too. I heard, Beginning from tomorrow, <sup>you</sup> pay to the workers, I don't know how much, and they closed the factories. Not only he but a lot of them. And this ~~was~~ one of the reasons, also, that he was, after that, after six weeks or so, that he was compelled to resign.

LB Your father was? Oh, *Cuza*! It was a kind of a strike then, you're saying. A businessman's strike?

WS It was a businessman's strike. I don't know if they did it, how to say, conscious and if it was organized. But I know it happened. I know it happened. And only that area couldn't have influenced the whole country. But it started an economic crisis since he came to power because people felt very insecure. And he was compelled after that to go. And they had an incident with the Russian ambassador I remember, who disappeared. He defected probably.

LB What was his name?

WS If I'm not mistaken, Potenko. I don't know exactly. The Russians were very, very angry. I suppose I read, after the war, that he defected to someplace. He was the Russian ambassador in Bucharest. And the Russians were very angry. They were angry with the government too. That I remember. I heard Russia. It was very

dangerous then. And they said, What kind of government is that, that can't even keep track of its diplomats which are... *how to say?*

LB Well, they're accredited.

WS Accredited *to it*.

LB The feeling between Rumania and the Soviet Union was never a very good one.

WS It was never good, no. Rumania belongs to the so called Cordon *Sanitaire*.

LB Is that German or Rumanian?

WS No, it is Rumanian. You know what it means. They wanted to make a so called sanitary...

LB Oh, the Cordon Sanitaire.

WS The Cordon Sanitaire around Russia. Poland, Rumania, *strong anti* <sup>*Communist feeling*</sup> Rumania had a big diplomat, Titulescu. You have heard of him? He was the man who started <sup>to improve</sup> to have relationships, who started/the relations with Russia. They had no relations. Relations were broken. And he did some treaty over the Dniester, I don't know. There came ambassadors, they exchanged ambassadors. He met Litvinov sometimes in Geneva and he said, Those are our neighbors and we have to live with them. *Evidently the rightists,* the right wing of the Rumanians, didn't agree with the approach. And it is said that he was killed, Titulescu, by the right wing. By the Rumanian Fascist Movement. He was a very clever man. Spoke eleven languages. Was fluent in eleven languages. He lived with a very large hand, in Rumanian money. But he was very clever. I don't know, he was two times the president of the United, the ...

LB The League of Nations.

WS The League of Nations, yes.

LB But you know, there were *hard* times in Rumania then. You didn't experience any of this? Between the wars...

WS What do you read?

LB From what I've read, the farming population was really put in a bind. They had a very tough time. They were caught in a price squeeze.

WS In 1930, was a crisis.

LB Before. All the time. And then, first of all, the small landowners barely had enough to live on. Barely. They had a subsistence existence. And then, came the Depression of course, everybody suffered. And the governments actually, although they changed, and I'm just telling you...I'm very nouveau arrivée, apparently all they did was juggle. And things went back and forth. There was something called the Land Reform, but the Land Reform was not really...

WS It was a real land reform. I don't know who it is who wrote those things.

LB One of them is a Rumanian, I think. Or maybe a Hungarian.

WS Probably a Communist. I don't know. I don't say that they did a perfect land reform. But they did a big land reform. They took away from the big landowners almost all.

LB They have the number of hectares. Is that how you call it? But I don't remember the number.

WS Yes, they measure in hectares. But they had very, very much. They were very, very rich. And they left them a small number of hectares and gave it to the smallest one. Well, they didn't, they were not able, that was almost everywhere...they were not able to organize the small landowners to work together, to buy together a tractor, to...they were not able...they were not prepared for that thing. But now, people, the same people...the same people are dead but the families are much more unhappy having not at all their land than they were then with their small part of it. I know. I know the story. They will tell you that the stories are that they had a lot of and they had a lot of pellagra and they will tell you...it is partly, maybe true. I don't know. It is like now, in Rumania. In Rumania, now, for instance, no one has, and it is real, no one has

*manchuria*



to starve for hunger. No one. Because you have, if you work, you have a small amount of money. This means you can have more, you can have less. You are very, very bounded,...yes? Limited. But nevertheless, there are people who are in very bad situations. Why? Because there are disorganized families. You know what it means?

LB Disorganized families?

WS Disorganized families. Families with divorced women, with children. The father disappeared, like here in the United States, it happens everywhere. Or the father is a drinker or the father is very ill. Or the mother is ill or things are like this. Those/so-called disorganized families and they have a very bad situation and they are...today in Rumania for instance, *as I told you, no one has to die from ... but*

no one is happy. But nevertheless, each one has something to work and something to eat. But it was the same thing...the millions of peasants, I don't know how many millions there were, but I remember in 1965, '64, I did a study about the Rumanian electrification of agriculture. Then in 1964, 59% of the Rumanian actual population was involved in agriculture. That means, in twenty years before '64, no, it means thirty years before or even more, about eighty per cent of the Rumanian population was involved in agriculture. Well, it is very hard to organize things like this in a year or two or three. But the reform, <sup>in</sup> they did it and it was not a bad reform. That friend of mine, was/Bessarabia, told me, always told me, that his father was an analphabet peasant in Bessarabia, under Russia. And he got a piece of land like all the other peasants and he became, not a rich man, he was never a rich man. But he became a man of...<sup>he didn't drink</sup> he worked hard. He had two or three sons, in the beginning they worked with him. And he <sup>Like</sup> was a well off man./All of them in the same...Only the thing is...the Rumanian peasant had some misconception about life, also. For instance, it was their aim, their goal, to have more land and more land and more land. He gets from the reform, he gets a piece of land. Then he wanted to buy his neighbors land. And he didn't

eat and he didn't drink and he didn't do anything a lot of times in order to have the money. And so were a lot of them. And this is true. Well, and they were not organized. They were not sufficiently organized. But the reform was not a bad one.

LB No. I didn't say that it was. I didn't mean to imply that the reform itself was bad, but the results of the reform were not carried through, partly because of the reason that you mentioned, that they were not educated or organized to farm nationally, right? And also, the business of the hereditary splitting of each piece continued even after land reform.

WS Yes. Yes. That was also. And they <sup>wanted</sup> to have more and more and more.

LB <sup>in some</sup> And this thing that you brought up. Now, all I meant to bring out was that you seem to have been separated from all this. Because it mentions in the books that these sections that belonged to Austria Hungary were much, they were at a much higher level economically and in their social organization than the rest... than the Old Kingdom. And Bessarabia was a mess, according to the authors.

WS Was a mess. Yes. <sup>It came from Russia -</sup> Here was no land reform. Here was nothing in that area. Because people had no land here. They had strips of small, here he had his house here, and here he had his garden and so...

LB So your culture was actually separate from that of the Old Kingdom. Now, in your home, were you the only child?

WS No, I had a sister.

LB You have a sister.

WS She is in that small town.

LB She still lives there.

WS With her husband and my father. Her son is in Bucharest. And has a lot of trouble now until I get something from them because there was an earthquake, you know....I must go, but I want to finish.

LB I want to know, for example, did your father go to a synagogue?

WS I beg your pardon?

LB Did he go to a synagogue?

WS My father, yes. But not very often. He was going. That I remember going with him, generally, the big holidays and sometimes...uh, to Pesach, yes. We Germans say often, Yiddische Austrians, Catholische Austrians, was always a problem. <sup>when</sup> everyone had off <sup>then</sup> and we had always three in our school for instance, we had our Passover. And Catholics...everyone has <sup>for</sup> all the holidays. It was very nice. They had three religions there. Every other day they had some...

LB In other words it was continued as under the old system.

WS Under the Rumanians, till 1938 or '39 it no different.

LB No different.

WS No different.

LB All right. Now what happened in '38 and '39 as far as you were concerned? What did you know?

WS In '38 I for the first time...

LB Because in '39 the war started already.

WS Yes. I don't remember exactly when King Carol instituted his royal dictatorship. But I remember, we had a very nice Scout organization in our gymnasium. And that <sup>they announced</sup> they are going to create national organization called, Trigere (?) Guard. Like a guard. Youth organization. This organization was volunteer. That means if you want to you are, if you didn't, no one compelled you.

LB It was not military.

WS It belonged to the international Robert Baden-Powell. It was very nice. <sup>And once it came...</sup> And we couldn't imagine ourselves as <sup>boys</sup>... I was a boy. <sup>I remember</sup> like today, I was with one of my friends. So, I felt the first time the dictatorship. And we were speaking. <sup>It has to come...</sup> We were going to be introduced. And I asked my friend, You are going to go in? I don't know. <sup>also a few</sup> And the other too. I don't know. We'll see how it will be. And at once, it was created and we are all in! <sup>If we want it or not.</sup>

LB There was no question.

WS (Laughing) There's no question. So I learned for the first time what it means a dictatorship. I didn't realize that. I was a boy, I don't know, about fourteen

or fifteen. I didn't realize what had happened. No that had to be in 1937 I suppose. And it at once, all the other organizations were cancelled. No scouts. Nothing. The only one was that one. And the King was the big Trigere.(?) They called it Trigere(?).

LB A hero.

WS No, no, no. A hero means...Trigere it means...

LB Oh, I saw it in the books...

WS It means a man who is guarding something. Who is guarding night and day. Keeping. He was the big one and he had a deputy which was a man who was born and lived a lot of years seven kilometers from that small town where I..

LB What was his name?

WS Fedorovitch. They killed him also I suppose. I don't know why.

LB It sounds like a Russian name.

WS No, no, Rumanian. I know very well his family. Some of them today are living there. And he was the deputy of the king. He was in the palace, I don't know what. The deputy of the king in that matter, and we were all in. That was my first how to say, experience of a dictatorship. Because after that the war started, I didn't realize so much the dictatorship because, you know, state of war, ~~we were~~ approximately <sup>with</sup> war, in 1940 the Russians took Bessarabia...there were a lot of real alarms and changes in government, changes in regime and so on. But my first experience was that one. And then it started in the school, compulsofy, you have to come, you have to do, you have to go, you have to...no one was asked if he wants, if he didn't, maybe you don't want today. Until we were thrown out as Jews after that.

LB You were. What year was that?

WS I was unable to go a year to school. In 1940, in June '40 when the Russians took Bessarabia back and the north of Bukhovina, I finished my sixth grade, the high school. And I, the fifth and the sixth, I did it in Czernowitz. But I came, my grandparents were living here and for the year I was here. And I came home to my town in, 15th of June or so, when the big holidays, the summer

vacations, the big summer vacations started. I came home. And after ten or fourteen days, the Russians took Bessarabia. My school was there. After that school began generally in Rumania the 15th of September. And when they started the school they made big meetings and threw out the Jewish children.

LB The Russians did. The Russians?

WS *why do you say* the Russians? No Russians. The Rumanians.

LB The Rumanians?'

WS I didn't know what the Russians did. <sup>I was not in Russia.</sup> / I was in Rumania.

LB No, but I thought you said the Russians were in here.

WS How can you say that, the Russians were never officially anti-Semitic. They never threw out because of Jewish, the Jews from the school. This did the Rumanians, here in all...because the Rumanians changed the government meanwhile ... and I was between '40 and '41, when I was sent to the camp here in Russia, I was not allowed to go to school. There were only some schools, <sup>in</sup> big towns, one was in Bucharest, one was in Iassi. I was inscribed in Bucharest. I don't know why my mother, my parents didn't want to let me go so far. I had an uncle in Bucharest. They inscribed me here <sup>that</sup> in school to go in the seventh grade. I had two grades to finish. My parents didn't want to let me go to be alone there. And I didn't go and then I went to the camp *with my parents.*

LB Your parents and you were sent to camp.

WS All the family.

LB Now that's in . Transnistia. That was a terrible place to be then.

WS Yes. It was horrible. Well, please ask. What do you want to know more.

LB Well, whatever you care to tell me. I can't make you...

WS What can I tell you? I can tell you things like this. You are interested in my Jewishness as I know. I would like to tell you a thing. The ~~spirit~~ <sup>means</sup> I was grown up with in the Bukhovina was very international. That , I felt some conflict of, let us say, interest or perception, between that what I was told in school and that what I was told at home.

Because my parents were Austro Hungarian or German and they didn't even like the Rumanians, you know. They said all the time, Oh, *what* a small country. I remember/<sup>my father told me,</sup> I had to go to Vienna, nobody asked me for passports or so. I went into the train and I went. And they told me all kind of good and interesting stories about their living in the Austro Hungarian monarchy. They enjoyed it very much and they had a very good living there. Both of them. And I was growing up in Rumania. I didn't know anything about that. I just knew what they told me. But, we generally were international, my friends, me and so...all the Jews...that means no difference of ~~faces~~, of conceptions...I was very anti-Communist all the time because without/<sup>knowing</sup> the Communist ideology but I know that my *place* was not there, because my father was, he explained to me sometimes, so far as he knew what had happened, because in the ideology there was not also, he was also not...he didn't read their ideology. He didn't know it. But as far as he knew, he explained it to me. And after I came to the camp, before the camp even, there were a lot of, it was a very hard period when the war started. They had here, they killed in Iassi some, there was a massacre of Jews, and after that...in our town was nothing. Nothing happened. On the contrary, it was the commandant of the town, a Rumanian major, and my father had a big conflict with him. We were the electric utility of the town, among others, we had big motors and we gave light to the whole town.

LB You mean your family did?

WS Yes. My father. Our factory there. And they <sup>*didn't*</sup> pay. And that cost a lot of money. And they didn't pay for I don't know how many months. And my father once stopped the thing. He said, I have no money. I can't make a gift. And when, I don't know exactly what <sup>*it was; he was*</sup> called to the major, to that major who was commandant of the town, and they put him *in the guard (?)* and they said, If you don't give light. You will be shot. Just like this. But he gave it and that same man who <sup>at</sup> did/the beginning, after that he came in Jewish society. They knew how to approach to him and he saved a lot of Jews. When the war started he went with the Rumanian troops I don't know, here in *(?)*. He saved a lot of Jews. He saved

their lives. They were sent afterwards to the camps and they told us. And in the camps they survived, a lot of them...part of them died in the camp. Generally he saved them from execution. You know, they had to be executed.

LB The thing that is very confusing to me, as an American, is that the policy toward the Jews, during the period of the war, is <sup>so</sup> confused, to me... it's a confusing picture. On the one hand, in this section, thousands of Jews were killed without a thought.

WS Yes. Yes.

LB They were shoved back and forth across the river.

WS It is not confusing. It has not to be confused. I will explain it to you.

When the war started, excuse me, no. The Russians took back Bessarabia and Bukhovina, the Jews were since that date... *until that date,* the Jews went into the army, the Rumanian army...it was anti-Semitism but not very overt. And it was always in Rumania but not...Jews were officers and Jews were...

LB Oh, they were.

WS Yes, evidently they were.

LB O.K.

WS My uncle was a captain. He was a doctor. But my father-in-law was...all of them were. Those who were in the army, they were taken <sup>mobilization</sup> to the army to, in the reserve army, the active army and so on. But the moment the Russians took Bessarabia, it happened in Rumania in a big, big...

LB Rebellion? Revolt?

WS Not rebellion. The government was overthrown. The government which was with the King, the government was a military government. And that came to power a couple of months before, or a year before when it happened a very strange thing in Rumania. The Rumanian, let us start so..In 1937 the King made a so called royal dictatorship. With some friends of his as prime minister and things like this. One of the men who was his prime minister for two years or so, was a gentleman

named *Armand Calinescu*, a man with one eye. He was a very gifted man. A very gifted man. And a very clever man. But he didn't...it was a mistake probably. He killed. And he killed... <sup>and it was done</sup> willingly, so it looked...he killed the man named *Corneliu Codreanu* who was the leader of the Rumanian Fascist Party. Him and a couple of the ten or twelve people with him. That started a complex, a period of very black terrorism in Rumania. They killed after that, him. They killed a big Rumanian professor. Rumania had an historian *Iorga (?)* was...he was an anti-Semite, but he was famous in the whole world. And they killed him.

LB What was his name again?

WS Nikolai *Iorga* and he was well known. He must have been a kind of genius. He had a memory. He was an outstanding man in all kinds of things. They killed him. They killed another professor, *Majar (?)*. It started a lot of assassinations and counter assassinations. They killed that man, *Armand Calinescu*, they killed him too. After that, the King named a general as prime minister. And there was in Rumania a very strong dictatorship. Now, and after that he suddenly named a friend of his *Titorescu*, prime minister. Now all these things would have gone farther, wouldn't have come the thing with Russia. The moment the Russians wanted that, they overthrew the King...it came...it took *Antonescu*, who was well known as German, pro-German, and he, *Antonescu* came to the power...

(Tape ends)

Side 3

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When the Rumanian army withdrew from Bessarabia, that caused a lot of rumors, <sup>maybe</sup> that some of them were real *truth*. That they were beaten by the Jews in Bessarabia. That the Jews wanted the Russians, is it true? All kinds of things, you know?

LB Now what year would this be, about 1940?

WS 1940. June 1940. And my wife, for instance, told me that, they were here in the Russian part, on the Prut (River) in some place, and there was a danger to



be killed by the Rumanians because...and so in Rumania there became a very heavy anti-Semitic atmosphere. That rumor was spreading around all over the country. In the meanwhile, the Rumanian government was overthrown. The King, in September '36 was compelled to leave the country. The King became his son. But he was only by name king because Antonescu became...

LB He was only a baby then, Michael?

WS He was not a baby, no. He was a man of twenty one or so. No. And Antonescu became the dictator, of Rumania. And *his* only ally, very close *was* Germany. He was with no other. With Russia, the Russians did that thing and there was very heavy anti-Russian atmosphere in Rumania. And together with, after the Russian, came the Hungarian and the Bulgarian pretension, on Rumania. The Hungarians wanted back Transylvania and the Bulgarians wanted back Dobruja. And there was the *Diktat of* Vienna as they called it. The Rumanians were compelled to give back a lot of...a big part of Transylvania and of Dobruja. In Rumania was Antonescu the master of the situation. And the situation was very bad for the Jews. Because Antonescu was not alone. He was not the military...he was...he had no party. He was a general. And it was said he was even a gifted general. He was an *(graduate)* of St. Cyr. You know what St. Cyr is? It is a big military...

LB Yes. That's the French military school.

WS He was...I suppose he was together with DeGaulle, in St. Cyr, at the same time. What happened. He had no political party. He was no political...and he came to power together with the Rumanian Fascists. And as it is always, in situations like this, they wanted to oust him after a couple of months. And it came to an open struggle on the 20, 21 of January 1941. It came to an open struggle between Antonescu and the so called Garda which means the Iron Guard. That was the so called rebellion in Rumania, in Rumanian history. That rebellion, ...Antonescu had the army on his side and he threw them out. Their leader went to Germany and the Germans backed Antonescu because they saw in him a natural more reliable ally than the, those young people from the Iron Guard. And so they took the leader of the Iron Guard, they live today in Germany, those who

are living and for the Jews that was a very good thing. Because...yes. Because would they have been...there would have been no Jew in Rumania. No Jew at all. Would they have been in power, the Iron Guard.

LB You mean, if the Iron Guard had won?

WS Yes. So, what happened now? Antonescu was a fellow <sup>with</sup> Dr. Filderman. Dr. Filderman was the leader of the Jewish community, who, on the outside between you and me, was also a big fake. Mr. Filderman. That was another thing. He was sentenced to Transnistria. We know him very well. Well! He was sent for a couple of... for a month or so ~~he~~ was there, two months...he made big differences between us Jews, that is, he said we, the Bukhovina Jews...the Jews from Bukhovina there were potential Communists or so, because we were, Bukhovina were not Old Rumanian Jews. He always emphasized the Old Rumanian Jews. Well, it is true...Yes, I forget to tell you that in 1938, if I'm not mistaken, 1938, there was a government Goga(?) . That Mr. Goga(?) he was a big Rumanian *doctorate*. He did a law where he made three categories of Jews. Jews, the first category, the second and the third. What was that? The first category was Jews who were veterans of war...they had almost all the rights like Rumanians. The second category was Jews, also who had fought in some war, I don't know, and the third category were the all the alien Jews who came from Hungaria, from Austria. We were immediately in the third category. And he <sup>devised</sup> that categorization and Mr. Filderman kept it and made also...he kept it very, very alive and he...achieved from Marshal Antonescu to get the repatriation, as they called it, of the Jews from the Old Kingdom.

LB You mean, from Transnistria ...

WS From Transnistria, yes, they thought, they sent to Transnistria...it is not understandable till today we don't know how it happened. They sent to Transnistria also Jews here from Dorohoi. Dorohoi was the Old Kingdom. Always. Had never been...

LB Anybody can make a mistake! (Laughter)

WS Yes. I don't know. It belonged to the government of Bukhovina. It was a province.

And they included it in the Bukhovina. Now but it was always the old Kingdom, no one...they were Rumanian Jews...and they were sent also to <sup>Transnistria</sup>...and in 1943 when Antonescu saw the war was lost, probably, and Fielderman had a very big and strong position in Bucharest too...

LB He did. All during the war?

WS Although he was sent to Transnistria for a couple of months. I don't know, he had some arguments with Antonescu and in an access of anger sent him to Transnistria. And we knew it before he even came, by Radio London. They transmitted it...And my father had...we had our own government and my father was the man in that government. He was the general...

LB You mean in the camp.

WS In the camp. He was the general cashier of the so called our own administration there. And he had to pay a lot of things <sup>for</sup> Mr. Fielderman. He didn't know him. And they were very displeased with him. They were very displeased with him. He came to camp. We all lived in very miserable conditions and they asked to make for him, at our expense, this was one of his first desires, an English closet, an English toilet and all kinds of things like this. He couldn't live. He had three secretaries. And all the time he wanted to know exactly, Is that a Bukhovina Jew or a Jew from the Old Kingdom. And he managed <sup>at the end</sup> to get them back.

LB He did?

WS Yes he did. They went back, to Dorohoi, the Jews from the Old Kingdom. Well, it is right, they were Rumanians. They were very...people who lived and fought and died for the Rumanian wars, *in the Rumanian wars.*

But he was a Jew.

LB /What about the rest of the Jews?

WS But he had to have that differentiation. I told you.

LB So how did you manage to survive that experience then? Because there were so many killed there?

WS Killed? Let us be clear. Killed were in the first year, were killed by typhus and by cold. About 8,000 Jews. So, killing with guns were generally not. There were some isolated...in that area where we were, no. Over the whole area. Maybe there were some exceptions but generally were not killed people by guns. People were killed...yes, I told you, in Iassi, here in Iassi, but that was before they sent us to the camp. Before the war. That was when they came back, when they retired themselves from Bessarabia, in June 1941. It was after that, I don't know, in July or August, there was a very, very explosive atmosphere and they killed 5,000 Jewish people in Iassi, in one day or two days.

LB The Rumanians did that though.

WS The Rumanians did that. The Rumanians. You could say that the Germans were also... but the Rumanians did it. But <sup>it was in</sup> after that, they, they were not... Bucharest was also, when was the rebellion when I told you?

LB You didn't give me a year.

WS I told you about the rebellion.

LB You told me about the rebellion but you didn't give me a year. You didn't tell me what year. You said it was between Antonescu and the Iron Guard...

WS And the Iron Guard took out a number of Jews and killed them. Like a slaughter house. I don't know how many. Two, three hundred. It was a number of Jews. But so killing...like the Germans...there were not. There was not in Rumania. And so the whole Rumanian community survived. The Jews in the Old Kingdom, except those two cases.

LB I know about that. But what I'm asking is what about the ones from Bukhovina and Bessarabia? Who were sent over.

WS Yes, that is another thing. The Jews from Bukhovina were sent to Transnistria and there was some killing too by the first troops who entered. There were. Generally not very much. In Czernowitz, for instance, because they were very rich and they came in and they took money and things. Killings were in Bessarabia. There were.

How many. How much. No one knows. But...I speak about the Rumanians not about the Germans. Let it be clear. The Germans killed a lot of people. But I speak only about the Rumanians. There were killings.

LB Now were there exports...were there transports out of Rumania into the German killing centers? (Long Pause). Do you understand? Out of Hungary there were 400,000 transported.

WS Yes and from Rumania there were more.

LB Yes. But they did send them to camp in Transnistria. But they were not killing centers.

WS They were not killing centers. Look, they killed. They killed some Jews. There was killed for instance, one who deserved it ten times. He was a very bad man and he became so powerful because he was in the grace of the Rumanian authorities at the beginning. He supposed <sup>he may even do</sup> some things, I don't know what it was, but it was wrong with the Rumanian major who was there and they killed him. Simply shot him. But he deserved it. It is a pity they didn't do it a month or two before. Well, but generally not.

LB If they died, you're saying from typhus, from starvation, from cold...

WS They did a thing, one thing they did, at the beginning. One horrible thing. We came here to Transnistria in October 1941. We were expelled on the 10th of October, 1941. And came in, let us say to Moghilev, that was the center, we came on the 20th. It was horrible. It was winter. Russian winter.

LB How did you...

WS Survive that?

LB No, how did you travel?

WS We traveled in, by train...by freight train, yes. It was horrible. We traveled three or four days, I remember, and then we came here and crossed the border on the Rumanian side in Bessarabia...

LB Actually from Mogilev, that's where many Jews escaped into Bessarabia during and before the first World War. That was the center from which they left into Bessarabia.

WS I don't know that. And here we came to Mogilev. Now they did the horrible thing they did in the first winter except the cold, they didn't have to die in that cold because we had to get some...they had to give us some place to dwell, to live, no? And they didn't give us anything. They gave us some street and they said, Here on that street you can live. That is the ghetto. The Jewish ghetto. Now if you had money and if you had possibility to get into some house, all the houses were people living, private houses. Natives. And if you had money to rent a room, we were together with our family nine persons in a room, it was so big...nine persons were in that room.

LB So it was about three by twelve (feet). Or five by twelve. *the size of the room.*

WS This happened. But the horrible thing they did was that they didn't want to have an agglomeration in Mogilev and they sent people farther. They had a county. The capital of the county was Mogilev. Now they sent them farther to Jurin, Murafa (?) I don't know all the towns. (Follows discussion as to where on the map these towns are located) They sent them to all kinds of places. And they sent them...if you had money to manage to take some (?) (having to do with the shortage of food) and a lot of people died on the way. A lot of them came to relatively good places and they <sup>lived</sup> till the end of the war. They did some centers in other areas except Mogilev. In the same county. Mogilev was the capital of the county, let's say.

LB I don't have a map of Russia.

WS No, it's not only that. You have to have a very small map. Between the Dniester and the Bug. Tiraspol was the capital of Transnistria and Odessa was also and they had here a county, Mogilev, where Jews were living, 40,000 Jews we were, about. And they don't want to have all of us in Mogilev. And they sent them farther away. Who had money and managed to go. We were not organized. We couldn't organize in a couple of days. And there died people on the way. In the first year, died a lot of people, as I told you, typhus. And there were

people for instance, I heard of very tragical cases...it was for instance a judge in, a Jew, in Rumania, in our small town. He was a very nice man who lived together with his two old sisters, he was an old man. He lived with his two sisters. All of them unmarried. He had a big pension as a judge and they had very good...and he was not a man who had money. He never had enough. He spent all his money. When it came the matter with Transnistria, he came to us and he had a very <sup>valuable</sup> violin, yes? He sold it. This was the first thing he did. And when the money ran out and he had not what to live for, he and his sisters they went to sleep and they left the windows open. And in the morning they found them, all of them, frozen. And so happened a lot of...I remember in the first year. After that things began to settle a little. Jews from Bucharest sent us a lot of money.

LB They sent you a lot of money.

WS They sent money, yes. There were two types of sending. They were sending from family to family. So we survived. My, our relatives sent us money from Bucharest and from Czernowitz. My grandfather <sup>was</sup> still living. But here they did some maneuvering that the money we went <sup>we came in,</sup> ~~were~~ in two weeks, not two weeks, two months about, they were nothing. They changed it once and once again. And then they sent to the community. It was not allowed to send money. People ...there was a lot of trouble because the people who got money ran the danger to be shot. And they did it for very <sup>high</sup> prices. Some of them defected with the money and so on. But the Jews in Bucharest had a very good position there, generally. They remained very, very accessible to money and they *managed*. Now, what happened. And we, after that, we started to organize ourselves. We did this hospital and we did some for children...there were a lot of children with parents dead, the children remained. And they did children houses where the children were ...more or less. And so we survived. But the first winter was the most horrible. And was always the fear that we will be given over to the Germans. That was not a good thing. And my father saw it was an order that we had to be given over to the Germans <sup>at the end.</sup> But they had no time to do it.

LB Is that right? He saw it.

WS He saw it. I don't know where he saw it but he saw it, *what I wanted to tell you...* I was grown up very international. At the camp I became a very good Jew.

LB You did.

WS I was not religious. I understood once for all, that I am a Jew and I have to remain a Jew and I must...that is a fact of life and I will remain until my last day Jew. All the international things are dreams. Stupidity. The world is not sufficient clever to understand them and maybe it will be in two hundred years or so, three hundred years. But I am and remain a Jew. It's no escape. Simple. And all the things I thought, international and so, I gave them up, there in the camp. Since then, I have never had any doubts *about* my Jewishness. That's all.

LB I'll say thank you very much.

(Tape was ended and then the conversation was resumed again)

LB Were there any Jews who came, I'm going to repeat the question...Were there any Jews who came out of camp feeling differently than you feel?

WS Yes, I have the impression there was some kind of polarization, you know. That means that part of them felt as I feel and part of them went out with a clear idea and conviction not to be Jews.

LB Ever <sup>u</sup>agin.

WS Ever again. Never again. If they could, to get rid of that complexes and all the things and say <sup>to</sup>, I try to assimilate myself. And that part started to be very active in the Communist Party.

LB Oh, is that it?

WS Yes. Yes they were.

LB Right after the war or that was in 1944?

WS The Russians came in 1944. In '44 came the Russians. They came to Rumania. And



then there were some people who...that thing had the contrary effect. You know it is individual. They suffered a lot like Jews and some of them lost parents, and...I don't want...I had...it's enough for me. I don't to be..I want to be a Rumanian like all of them or I don't know what. They came to Rumania. They changed their names.

LB They did.

WS Yes. They did.

LB They took Rumanian names then.

WS They took it...not Rumanian...names, which were not very Jewish, you know. But most of them, in my opinion, reacted as I did. <sup>But</sup> There were also people who reacted the opposite.

LB D.K. (Tape Ends)